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A  
S E R M O N

Preached at the Magnificent  
CORONATION

O F  
The Most High and Mighty King

CHARLES the II<sup>d</sup>.

KING of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland,*  
Defender of the *Faith, &c.*

At the Collegiate Church of S. PETER *Westminster,*  
The 23<sup>d</sup> of *April,* (being S. GEORGE'S DAY) 1661.

• *Merley, George, Ep. of Winchester*  
By

The Right Reverend Father in God,  
GEORGE Lord Bishop of *Worcester.*  
*Blackman* *et alii*  
*Merley*

Published by His Majesty's speciall Command.

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1. The first of the two main parts of the report is a description of the work done during the period from 1st January to 31st December 1986.

2. The second part of the report is a summary of the results of the work done during the period from 1st January to 31st December 1986.

3. The third part of the report is a summary of the results of the work done during the period from 1st January to 31st December 1986.

4. The fourth part of the report is a summary of the results of the work done during the period from 1st January to 31st December 1986.

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To the Most High and Mighty King,

CHARLES the II<sup>d</sup>.

By the Grace of God,  
King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,  
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most Gracious SOVERAIGN,

**H**ow unwilling I am that any thing of mine should be made publick, needs (as I conceive) no other proof but this, That I am now past my great Climacterical, and this is the First time that ever I appear'd in Print: Neither would I have done so Now, unless Your Majesty's own immediate and expresse Command (which in all things not evidently forbidden by God, is a wayes to be obeyed) had obliged me to do it.

And truly I am somewhat the more willing to comply with this Obligation; because since the preaching of this Sermon I have been inform'd, that some Exceptions have been taken against it. As first in General, That I medled with matter of State, an argument Excentrick to my Profession, and Improper for the Pulpit. And secondly in Particular, That by Repeating and Reviving some passed miscarriages, I had trespassed against the Act of Indempnity.

Now for Answer to the Former of these Charges, I shall humbly offer it to Your Majesty's Consideration, Whether a Divine, even in the Pulpit, may not without exceeding the Compass of his Commission, endeavour (as much as in him lies)

to recommend to the Consciences, and to endear to the Affections of his Auditors, the legally establish'd Government both in Church and State; And what more effectual Motive is there to make men Conscionably and cheerfully to submit to the legally establish'd Government, than by making it to appear, That it is the best of Governments in it self, and the best for them also, by putting them in mind of the miseries they have brought upon themselves by the Alteration of it, and of the unhappy trials they have made of all other forms of Government that differ from it; and consequently; how much they are obliged to be thankfull unto God for being Restored to it, and to be so much the more Obedient for the future to the Laws of it, for having heretofore so Foolishly, as well as Wickedly, Revolted from it. Now if this be no part of a Divines business, or if a Discourse of this Nature be Improper for a Pulpit, why doth God himself in Scripture command us to put men in mind of these things, as he doth, Tit. 3. 1. Rom. 13. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13. and in many other places? Or why are there Homilies for Subjection, and against Rebellion, commanded by Sovereign Authority to be read unto the people? Or lastly, Why are we enjoyn'd by the very first Canon of our Church, to preach four times a year at least, upon this Argument, I mean, for the Asserting the Kings Supremacy and Sovereign Authority over all his Subjects? And consequently, for the condemning of all taking up of Arms against him, as likewise all pretences of Jurisdiction over him, or of Coordination with him, together with the Exercising of any Power Military, Civil, or Ecclesiastical, that is not derived from him; which being all of them evidently inconsistent with the Kings Supremacy and Sovereignty, the same Authority which

which enjoyns us to preach for the one, must needs allow us at least, to preach against the other. Which being as much, or more then I have done in This Sermon, I hope that neither Your Majesty, nor any other impartial Hearer or Reader of it will blame me, for not keeping within the verge of mine own Profession, or for taking more liberty then ought to be made use of in the Pulpit; especially at such a time, and upon such an occasion, when after so long a series of several forms of Tyranny and Usurpation, Monarchy (which seemed to have been Put to Death with Your Majesty's blessed Father) was again Revived by Your sacred Majesties Personat Inauguration in so solemn, so magnificent, and so glorious a manner, beginning with as loud shouts and Acclamations, as could be made here on Earth, and ending with much louder shouts and Acclamations even from Heaven it self; For they that take that voice of God for a sign of his being Displeased with the fore-going Action, would perhaps (if they had been then present) have taken the same voice of God for a sign of his being Displeased with Christs Baptism; for it was in Thunder that he spake, even then also.

But whether I am Guilty of the First Charge, or no, in Medling with things Improper for a Pulpit, which (if true) had been but an Indiscretion onely; I am very sure, I am not Guilty of the second, I mean, of speaking any thing to the prejudice of the Act of Indemnity; which had been an high Presumption in any man, and in me a sin against mine own Judgement and Conscience.

For I humbly conceive, That whatsoever promise a soveraign Prince makes unto his subjects (if the matter of it be not sinfull) be ought in Prudence, as well as in Conscience

to perform it, yea though perhaps he must needs prejudice himself by it. Because a Sovereign Princes Word, being the best and highest Security he can give unto his Subjects, he were better suffer a very great Inconvenience by keeping it, then weaken the publick Security, or hazard the losing of his Credit with his People by breaking it. Which Consideration made that wise and great Prince HENRY the fourth, Your Majesties Grandfather, so Religious an observer of his Word, that neither the Duke of Mayne, nor any other of his Subjects, that had formerly stood out against him, when they came to an Agreement with him, did ever desire or demand any other Caution for security of their Persons and Interests, but the Kings word onely. And therefore God forbid, that I, or any man else, should dare to suggest any thing unto Your Majesty, either publickly, or privately, in order to the violation of so Sacred a Bond, as the Word of a King is, and hath alwayes been esteemed to be.

Especially, when the thing it self, which a King hath Granted, or given his Word for, is so Necessary in order to the settling of Himself, and of his Kingdome, as I believe an Act of Indempnity (at this time, and in this conjuncture of Affairs) to be: There being no other way (as I humbly conceive) after so General and Long a disturbance and confusion, to compose and quiet mens minds by Securing them from their Fears, or to beget a Mutual Confidence betwixt the Prince and his People, without which, it is Impossible either for the Prince or People ever to be Happy in one another.

And therefore Your Majesty's Grandfather, whom I before named, did not onely pardon All his Subjects that came in to him (how much soever they had before offended him) but to  
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secure them the better from their fears, and to oblige them the more to his service, he Honoured some of them with Titles of great Quality, and with Offices of great Trust and Importance; and I do not find, that any of them gave him Cause to repent of it. And I hope Your Majesty will find the same success that he had, in doing as He did; Or rather as God himself did; when he did not onely receive the Prodigal Child, but feasted him, and made as much of him, as if he had never given him cause to be displeased with him, though his Elder Brother repined at it.

But then, as Your Majesty hath been pleased to remember and imitate, what that most Exemplary Prince, Your Grandfather, did; so it will well become those, whom Your Majesty hath so much obliged, to Remember and Consider, what the same Great and Wise King used often to say, namely, That though he would be always ready to make Peace with any of the Leaguers; yet he would never make Peace with the League. His meaning was, That though he would pardon any that had engaged against him, yet he would never endure that the Engagement it self should afterwards be own'd, or justified by any of his Subjects; This being in Effect not an Act of Indemnity for what they had done against him for the time past; but an Act of Allowance for what they should do against him for the future: And consequently, not so much a Pardon of sin, as an Invitation to sin.

Whereas an Act of Indemnity, as it is meerly an Act of Grace and Favor in him that Grants it; so it supposeth both Confession and Repentance of a fault in him that Receives it. And he that truly Repents of a fault, will not be Angry when he is told of it; especially, when he is told of it by way of Caution against it, and not by way of upbraiding  
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ing him with it, or for it. And how can a Preacher be said to upbraid any man in particular, when he speaks against sin in General? and that in order to the humbling of all men before God, and not to the shaming of any man before men? Especially, when in clear and expresse Terms he professeth, that it is not his meaning, to charge the Meritorious Cause of Gods Judgments upon any one party, Order, or fact of men, and much less upon any one man in particular, but upon the whole Nation in general, and consequently, as well and as much upon himself, as upon any of those that heard him?

And now, if this be not enough to clear me from having any Intention in any thing I said, to derogate from the Act of Indemnity, All that I have to say more is, That Your Majesty having Heard me, and Commanded me to Print what I then spoke, must either Absolve me, or Suffer with me. And having This Security, I confess, I do not much apprehend, what hath been, or can be said of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

most Humble and most

Obedient Subject,

GEOR. WORCESTER.

1  
P R O V. cap. 28. vers. 2.

*For the Transgression of a Land, Many are the Princes thereof; But by a Man of understanding and knowledge shall the state thereof be prolonged.*

**T**He Queen of the South, (saith our Saviour, meaning the Queen of Sheba) came from the uttermost parts of the Earth, to hear the *VV*isdom of Solomon, Luk. 11. 31. And we reade in the fourth of the first Book of the *Kings*, that not onely the *Queen* of the South, but *some of all sorts* of People were sent from *all* the *Kings* of the Earth that had heard of him, upon the Same Errand, namely, to *Hear his VVisdom*, and to Learn of him, how to Govern Themselves and their Subjects as *he* did, that *they* might be as Happy in Themselves and their Government as *he* was. And to this end may I say of Solomon (as the Scripture saith of *Abel*, Heb. 11. 4.) that *being dead He yet speaketh*.

For though it hath pleased God to suffer *all* that *this* great King and Wise Philosopher hath written of natural Speculation (from the Cedar to the Hyssope, and from the greatest of beasts and fishes, to the least of creeping things, 1 King. 4. 33.) to be utterly  
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lost ; as being a kind of knowledge that was more likely to puff up, then to edifie, and to make men by too much poreing upon the *creature*, to forget or neglect to look up to the *Creator* : Yet as for that practical kind of knowledge, whereby men become *better* as well as *wiser* (whether it concern us in relation unto *God*, as *Divinity* ; or in relation to *our selves*, as *morality* ; or in those relations which *one man* hath unto *another*, as the *Politicks* and *Oeconomicks* ) in order to the making of us *honest Men*, *good subjects*, *good neighbors*, and *good Christians*, whatsoever I say was written by *Solomon* to any of these ends, is all of it, or most of it, or at least as much of it, as is sufficient for our use and practice, yet extant in the Books of the *Canticles*, the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes* ; of which the First and the Last are almost wholly *Theological* : the Book of the *Canticles* being an *Holy charm*, as it were, to draw us unto *Christ*, and to make us in love with him, by an *Allegorical*, but most *Emphatical* description of *Christs Loveliness* in Himself, and of the excellency of His Love unto us ; And the other of *Ecclesiastes* being an *holy Satyre* against the world and worldly things, written on purpose to wean us from them, by shewing us the vanity and vocation of them. But this book of the *Proverbs* is a Divine Miscellany or mixture of *Theological*, *Moral*, *Political* and *Oeconomical Aphorisms* or *Observations* : and those not like  
links



*links* of the same chain, having a natural dependence one upon another ; but rather like Pearls upon the same string, which though they are all of them equally useful and precious in their several kinds, yet few of them have so necessary a connection with one another, but that we may take most of them alunder, and consider them apart by themselves, without any prejudice at all either to the Text or Context.

And thus we are now to consider the words I have read unto you, which are an Aphorism, or Observation partly *Political*, and partly *Theological* ; for as it observes *many Princes* in a Land to be a National Calamity, so it is *Political* ; but as it observes, That Calamity to be a National Judgement, or a Judgement of *God* upon the Land, for the sins of the people of that Land, so it is *Theological*.

Again, as it observes, That by a *man of understanding and knowledge* the state of a Land is prolonged, so it is *Political* ; but as by a *man of understanding and knowledge*, it means ( as you shall see it does ) a man that understands and knows what *God* would have him to *do* and *does* it, so it is *Theological* ; and seems to be the Observation, not of *Solomon the King*, or of *Solomon the Statesman* only, but of *Solomon the Divine*, or of *Solomon the Preacher* also. And therefore as it deserves a much better Preacher than I am, to Discourse upon it :

# 4 *A SERMON Preached*

so it may become the Greatest of Kings, and Wisest of Statesmen to Harken to it. Neither can there be a more Seasonable Occasion then *this* for the consideration of it: and therefore, if it have not somewhat more then ordinary influence upon our affections for the present, and upon our actions for the future, it must be, and I am afraid it will be my want of skill and ability, either to open it clearly, or to apply it pertinently, or to enforce it powerfully; which I hope, notwithstanding all my infirmities, God will give me grace to do in some measure. Howsoever being by *command* of my *Superiours* to speak before a *great King* at *such a solemn time*, and upon *such an extraordinary occasion* as *This*, I would not presume to do it, but in the *words* of a *King*, and of *such a King* as was both the wisest of *Kings*, and the wisest of *men*, and that not of his own time onely, but of all that ever was before him, or ever shall be after him. And therefore as he was most fit to prescribe to *Princes*, how they are to *govern*, and to *Subjects* how they are to *obey*; so was he most able to foresee and judge how and by what means a *State* and *Kingdom* might either be *ruin'd* or *preserv'd*, and the date thereof either shortned or prolonged. For as the body Natural, so the body Politick is either shorter or longer liv'd, according to the good or bad constitution of it, or according to the more or less skil or care of Him that governs it, or lastly, as there is more

or less of the fear of God in the Subjects of it. For though the constitution of a State be never so sound and healthful, and though He that sits at the Helm be never so skilful and careful, yet if the generality of the People be wicked and willful, God doth usually punish the madness and folly of such a People, with permitting them to be instruments of their own misery, by changing the *best form* of Government under *one lawful Hereditary Prince*, into the *worst* kind of Tyranny, under *many lawless Usurpers and Oppressors*. For it is for the *transgression of a land*, saith the Wiseman in my Text, that the *Princes thereof are many*: But by a *man of understanding and knowledge*, shall the state thereof be prolonged. Where from the word [*But*] which stands in the middle of my Text, and divides the Latter Clause of it from the Former, we may collect that what follows this dividing Particle is to be understood in *opposition* to that which is *before* it.

And therefore by a *man of understanding and knowledge*, as there must needs be meant a *single person* in opposition unto *many*: so the *single person*, that is here meant, must needs be a *Prince*, because he is oppos'd not to *many* simply and indefinitely; but to *many Princes*: And then from this *Aphorisme*, thus understood; we may conclude;

1. That *plurality of Princes*, or the government of a Nation or Land by *many Princes*, is a *National Judgement*, or a Great judgement of God upon a Nation.

2. That *Monarchy*, or the government of a people by *one Sovereign Prince only*, (especially if he be a Man of Understanding and knowledge,) is a great *National blessing*, or a great blessing of God upon a Nation.

And as we have found the *one* of *these* Conclusions to be true by *our own* woful *experience* already; so I hope we shall find the *other* of them to be as true, by *our own* joyful *experience* hereafter. And that this Nation of ours, which was so neer perishing under the Conduct of *many*, shall by *one man of understanding and knowledge* not only be recovered from its former distempers and dangers for the present, (as thanks be to God for it, it is in a great measure) but settled and established; and the state thereof prolonged (if it be not our own fault) for the future.

But as the *Passover*, the greatest of the Jewish Festivals, was not to be celebrated without eating of *four herbs*, to put them in mind of their former slavery, and thereby to make them the more thankfully sensible of their present liberty; so at *this* great Festival of ours, to make us relish the better our present Happiness, and to prepare us the better for our future Hopes, it will not be amiss to make a reflexion upon our past Sufferings, and the Causes of them, to the end that God being first justified in his *late* great *judgements* deservedly inflicted upon us, may afterwards be the more heartily magnified for his

his present great mercies undeservedly vouchsafed unto us.

We shall begin therefore with the former of these conclusions, namely,

That plurality of Princes in a State is a great judgement of God upon a Nation.

Which may be proved, first *à priori*, from the cause; and secondly, *à posteriore*, from the effects of it.

And first for the proof of it *à priori*, or from the cause, we need go no further then my Text, which makes good this Conclusion in all the parts of it.

For first, it proves it to be a judgement, because it is for transgression, or because transgression is the meritorious Cause of it; from whence by the way we may observe likewise, That if plurality of Princes be for transgression, then if there had been no transgression, there would not have been a government by plurality of Princes; and consequently, that such a government is originally neither from God, nor from Nature, nor from the Dictates of Right reason, but from sin, which is always the Meritorious, and sometimes the Efficient cause of it.

Secondly, it appears from the Text, that plurality of Princes is not onely a judgement because it is for transgression, but a National judgement, because it is for the Transgression of a Land, that is, of a Nation, or the Inhabitants of a Land, or because  
national

*national provocations* are the Causes of it.

Thirdly, it may be proved from my Text likewise, that, as it is a national Judgement, so it is a great national judgement, or a great judgement of God upon a Nation, because it is not for any ordinary or common national sin, but for the greatest provocation that a nation can be guilty of. For though *וַיַּחַד* the word in the Original which we translate *transgression*, do indeed signify a transgression; because the greatest sin as well as the least may be called a *transgression*; yet the *transgression* which is here meant is *such* a transgression as *transgresseth* or exceeds all other transgressions; for it is *prevarication*, which is the literal, proper and most emphatical signification of the word *וַיַּחַד*. And *prevarication* (as the Civilians tell us) is a betraying of the cause and interest we would seem to maintain. As when *Divines* pretending to guide men in the way that leadeth unto Heaven, do perswade them, to do such things as will bring them unto Hell; or when *Lawyers*, whose office is to be guardians of liberty and property, do by false glosses upon the Law justify or excuse those that invade, and oppress, and destroy both; or lastly, when any Man, Sect, or party of men, pretending to serve God, and the King, do indeed serve themselves and their own wicked designs against God and the King. This is *prevarication*, and for such prevarication as this, doth God punish a Land (saith my Text) with many Princes; which must

must therefore be one of the greatest National judgments, because it is the punishment of one of the greatest National sins; for so is prevarication. And thus much briefly for the proof of my first Conclusion *a priori*, or from its Cause.

I proceed to the proof of it *a posteriori*, or from its effects. For as great national sins are the cause, so great national miseries are the effects of many Princes; as will appear first from the consideration of Polycracy, or of a government by plurality of Princes, in its own nature, or in the general: and, Secondly from the experience we our selves have had of it in our own Particular.

And first, it is true in it self and in the general, That where there are many Princes in a Land, there the People must needs be exposed to many and great miseries.

But then by Princes we are not to understand such Princes as the hundred twenty seven were, that were feasted by *Absalom*, under whom they were the Governours of so many several Provinces; nor such Princes as are now in France, Poland, Naples and other Kingdoms, who are but Princes in name only; and though some of them greater then others, yet all of them subject and subordinate to their own Sovereign princes. For of such princes there may and perhaps ought to be many, that is, more or fewer according to the Grandeur of the Monarch they live under. And yet there may be many  
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even of *this kind* of princes also ; as when the Sun of Sovereign Majesty, from whence they borrow and derive their light, is either Eclipsed by their Magnitude, (as it was in *England* in the time of the Barons wars ) or clouded by their multitude; or when the Title and dignity it self is embased and prophaned by admitting too many , and too mean persons to be partakers of it. But of *this* the Sovereign prince is the *only* and *best judge*, neither are these the princes my Text speaks of.

For by *many princes* in my Text, are meant such as are , or take upon them to be *Sovereigns* in the *same Land* or State; and that *not successively*; for then, how could they be oppos'd to a *single person*, seeing in that sense they would *all* of them be but *so many single persons* succeeding one another? And besides, I cannot see, why *many* princes in *succession* should be said to be a *judgement* or a punishment inflicted by God upon a nation for their sins ; and therefore by *many princes* in my Text must needs be meant *many pretending to sovereignty* in the *same country* at the *same time*.

And this may be either when the Country is *Canonized* into many several Independent principalities, by setting up *many* petty Sovereignties instead of *one*, or when the *Sovereign power* over a whole Nation is *shared and exercised* by *many*; whether they be more, as in a Republick or Democracy ; or fewer, as in a State or an Aristocracy.

And:



And first for the former way of *Polycracy*, or having many Princes, by *Cantoning* the Countrey, and making several distinct bodies of the several members of the same body Politick, it is that which was attempted by *Korah, Dathan and Abiram*, when they told *Moses* he took too much upon him, because he alone did govern in chief all the twelve Tribes of Israel. And you know what the issue of that attempt was, namely, the sudden death of almost fifteen thousand men, besides the swallowing up quick of some, and the burning alive of others of the Conspirators, together with their wives and children, and all that belonged unto them; as you may read in the fifteenth Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*. The same was afterwards attempted by *Abner* upon a pretence of *Went* for his Masters House, but indeed by dividing Israel from Judah, to govern Israel himself; as he did during the War betwixt the house of *David* and the house of *Saul*, which was a long and a bloody one, saith the Text; as such wars use to be, when a whole Nation is engaged to fight against it self, and to cut one anothers throats to gratifie the malice or ambition of a few. But that which was but attempted by *Dathan and Abner*, was shortly after effected by *Jeroboam*, who divided Israel from Judah, beginning a War, which neither he nor his successors could ever see an end of, till Israel and Judah being weakened, and wasted, and consumed by one another, became a prey to the *Assyrian*, who at length

swallowed them up both. And thus (to say nothing of other Nations, which of old and of late have been thus *Canton'd*) our own Country of England, of a *Monarchy* became an *Heptarchy*, by setting up of seven several *Soveraignties* in the time of the *Saxons*, which never left encroaching and warring upon one another, till all of them were reduced again under one. By all which Instances it is evident enough, that there cannot be many *Soveraign* princes over several parts or provinces of the same country, without much effusion of blood in the erecting, and great oppression of the people for the maintaining of them. And consequently that the having of many Princes in this sense must needs be a great Judgement upon the people.

And yet secondly it is as bad or worse for the people; when the *Soveraignty* over the whole, which ought to be vested in one, is usurped and shared, and exercised by many, who, whether they be more, or fewer, do alwayes under a pretence of *Law* and *Liberty* assume unto themselves an *Illegal*, *Arbitrary* and *tyrannical* power, and that as really in a *Senate* or *Aristocracy*; though not so grossly and visibly, as in a *popular State* or a *Democracy*.

For even in a *Senate*, (where many govern in chief with equal Authority) supposing them (as we must needs suppose them to be) men subject to the same passions, appetites, and infirmities as all men are, there will alwayes be jealousies, envyings, and emula-

emulations amongst them ; and where there are jealousies and emulations, and *no superior* authority to check and *over-rule* them, there must needs be factions and divisions also ; and where there are factions and divisions among those that govern, where the government it self must needs be obnoxious to many dangers and difficulties, both in administration of justice at home, and in defending themselves against enemies abroad ; there being nothing more natural or more usual in *such kind* of States, then the sacrificing of the publick Interest to private and particular concerns ; whilst every man is apt to gratifie himself, and his own covetousness, ambition, or animosity, by becoming a pensioner to any other State that will give most for him ; and to gratifie his own party at home, by thwarting and crossing and crying down whatsoever is said or done by the contrary faction, though the State it self be often endangered, and sometimes ruin'd by it. As we see it hapned in the State of Carthage, where *Hannibal* and the rest of his faction, to comply with their own envie and Malice against *Hannibal*, they forced that great Captain to quit *Italy*, and the prosecution of his Victories for want of supplies, though by drawing *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, they drew the *Romans* into *Africa*, and saw *Carthage* and themselves made slaves to *Rome*, rather then they would endure *Rome* should be subdued by *Hannibal*. So powerful, and so mischievous are the passions of Covetousness, Ambition,

bition, Envy, Malice, and Revenge, where there is *no Authority* to prevent or restrain the dangerous malignity, and effects of them, as there is not, where the Sovereignty is *equally shared* amongst *many*. And yet though they differ in *all things els*, they will *alwayes agree in this*, to enrich their own private families as much as they can, by drawing, not as much as is needful, or can be spared, but as much as is to be had, or can be extorted from their poor Subjects. And yet such is the simplicity, and folly of some deluded people, that they could be content to beggar themselves and to become slaves indeed, to purchase the empty name of a free State, or a free born People; as some of us would have done, and some of our neighbours have done, who are as arbitrarily governed, and as heavily taxed, as the vassalls of the Grand Seignior himself: whereas if they were wise, they would consider, that supposing a Sovereign Prince were indeed a Tyrant, yet the Tyranny of a *State* or Senate would be much more grievous and insupportable then any *one* sovereign Prince can be; and that not onely because it is easier, and safer, and cheaper to satisfy the lust, the covetousness, the cruelty, or any other inordinate or immoderate passion of any *one man*, then of *many*; but likewise because the Tyranny of *one* man is, as himself is, *mutable* and *mortal*; for a bad Prince may, and many times does mend; and whether he *mend*, or no, he must *end*, and a better may

may succeed him ; but the tyranny of a State is, as the State it self is, *immutable* and *immortal*. A tyrannical State being nothing else but a *standing tyranny*, or a succession of several men in the same tyrannical form of government. Whereunto may be added, that a Sovereign Prince knowing himself, and none but himself lyable both to the blame and shame of whatsoever is amiss in matter of Government, as having no partner or sharer in it, upon whom for excusing himself, he may transferr the blame of it, he will alwayes have the restraint of *shame* ( if he have not the restraint of *conscience* ) upon him ; and consequently supposing he feared not *God*, nor what *he* could do unto him, yet he will care for *men*, and what *they* are likely to say of him. But where the Sovereignty is in *many*, and all of them for all things they do equally accountable in the *general*, none of them thinks himself accountable either to God or man, for any thing in his own *particular* ; and therefore cares not how the one is provoked, or the other injured, as long as he thinks it is the *State*, and not *he*, that is to answer for it. And States, being bodies without souls, have neither Conscience to awe them, nor shame to restrain them from doing any thing. So that it seems to be a judgement of God upon a Nation when it hath *many* Princes at *once* even in this sense. I mean when the Nobility or some of the better sort of the people do share betwixt them the Sovereignty over all the rest.

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And yet *this* is the best kind of Polyoracy, or the best kind of Government under more Princes than one. Because it is better to be subject to *fewer* than to *more*, and to some of the best and noblest, as it is in a Senate of Aristocracy, than to a *multitude* of the worst and basest of the people, as it is in a Democracy, or that which is commonly called a Republick, which notwithstanding all its vain pretences to freedom, Equity and Equality, is absolutely the *worst* of all kind of Government whatsoever.

1. Because it is most *unnatural*; for though it be monstrous enough for *one body* Politick to have *more heads* than one, yet it is much more monstrous and unnatural, when that which *should* be the body is the *head*, or when the *body* and the *head* are but *one confus'd*, undistinguish'd *mass* or lump; there being in a popular State no difference betwixt those that Govern, and those that are governed, unless it be this, that those that seem to govern, are indeed subjects; and those that seem to be governed, are indeed Sovereigns, the Magistrates in a Common-wealth being *servants* and vassals unto the people, as being created by them, and accountable to them, and consequently always in danger and fear of them.

2. As this kind of Government is most *unnatural*, so it is most *unreasonable*; for what can be more *unreasonable* than that the wisest, the justest, the

the most valiant and most virtuous persons (which are alwayes the *fewest*) should be governed by such as are fools, or knaves, or cowards, or vitious and vile persons? which are alwayes the *major* part, and consequently must needs domineere and give Law to all the rest, where all things are carryed by *plurality* of voyces, as they are, where the *soveraign authority* resides in the body of the *People*; which are most of them *such*, as were intended by God and nature (saith *Aristotle*) to be *servants*, as being of low and servile dispositions, and such as have not wit enough to govern themselves; and much less to govern others.

As this kind of Government is most *unnatural* and *unreasonable* in its frame and constitution, so it is most *insolent*, injurious and *tyrannical* in its managery and *administration*. And that *first* in regard of the peoples *folly* and *credulity*, which makes them apt to be abused and deceived by false informations and misrepresentations of Things and Persons, and apt to be perswaded by those that *flatter* them most, against those that *counsel* them best, mistaking their friends for their enemies, and enemies for their friends; and from thence apt to magnifie and exalt the one, and to disgrace and undo the other. *Secondly*, in regard of their *levity* and inconstancy, which makes them rash and inconsiderate in their deliberations, sudden and precipitate in their Resolutions, and consequently Irre-

solute and variable in their affections, and in their actions, crying up that to day, which they will cry down to morrow, and oftentimes condemning and executing as *Traitors* and *Malefactors* those whom they had a little before applauded and adored as their *Tutelary gods* and saviours. Thirdly, in regard of their *Fears and jealousies*, which so weak men, so weak States are alwayes most subject unto. And these fears and jealousies make them suspect whatsoever is above their capacities for plots and conspiracies; and make them look jealousy upon men that are eminent, as if because they may *do harm*, they cannot be *innocent*, so that the more wise, or virtuous, or valiant any man is in a *popular State*, or the more he hath deserved of his Country by noble and Heroical actions, the less safe he is, because when any man seems to excel and out-grow others, he presently becomes the fear and envie of all: And then whatsoever any of his enemies, or any mean or base companion will accuse him of, is greedily heard, and easily believed; and whatsoever can be said for him by himself, or by his friends, doth but *hasten* his condemnation, because it is his *merit* that is his *crime*, and that which ought to make him beloved and honoured, is that which makes him to be feared and hated. Thus were *Ithemistocles*, *Aristides* and *Alcibiades* rewarded by the people of *Athens*; thus were *Coriolanus*, *Camillos*, and *Scipio* the African rewarded by the People of *Rome* after all their



their meritorious services. And thus should *Julius Caesar* (after he had added *Gaul, Germany* and *Brittany* to the *Romane Empire*.) have been rewarded by the same People of *Rome*, if he had not prevented it, by taking that power, they would have used against him, away from them. And now consider I beseech you, whether there can be a worse form of Government, then where either the State it self, or the worthiest and best deserving men in a State must needs be ruin'd; and where the State hath no other way, but by ingratitude and cruelty, to secure it self against the best of its own subjects; and when the best subjects, after they have done the best service, have no way, but by *Rebellion* and *Parricide*, to secure themselves, against their own Country. Whereunto may be added in the last place the aptness of the Common People in any State, and much more in a Popular State, where they are under no restraint, to be suddenly incensed and transported by the violence of their own Passions beyond all rules and bounds of Religion, of Reason, of Modesty, of common Honesty, nay of Humanity it self, to do the most absurd, extravagant and outrageous actions, without considering, or caring, or fearing what may be the issue of them. Especially when those that are so apt to kindle of themselves, are set on fire and inflamed by their seditious Demagogues, I mean their Orators and Preachers, who being men of turbulent and unquiet spirits, are never

pleased themselves, nor will ever suffer the people to be content with their *present* condition, but are alwayes either secretly whispering false fears and dangers into their heads, or openly complaining and inveighing against *things* and *persons*, as prejudiciall to the publick good, till at length they so poyson, and enrage their foolish Auditors, that there is nothing so difficult or dangerous, but they will attempt it, nor nothing so injurious or impious, that they will stick at it; neither is there any remedy for their Rage, or cure for their madness, till these *Fiends* that possess'd them, are cast out of them; which I am afraid will hardly be done by *fasting* and *prayer* onely. Such were *Corath*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, who stirred up the *people* against *Moses* and *Aaron*; such was *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, who blew a Trumpet and said, *We have no part in David, neither have we any portion in the son of Jesse, Every man to his Tent. O Israel*: such were the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who made the *people* cry out, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him*, meaning their *King*, and their Saviour, and to chule *Barabbas* rather then *Jesus*. Such was *Demetrius* the Silver-smith, who with one Seditious Oration *filled with uproar the whole City* of *Ephesus*. To conclude, such were *Gleon* the *Tanner* of *Athens*, the *Gracchi* at *Rome*, and many other seditious Orators in both those *Common-wealths*; And such are *now* adayes many of the Preachers amongst *Christians*: who are by so much the more wicked,  
and

and execrable in themselves, and dangerously pernicious to a State, then any of those Heathen Orators were, by how much more damnable a sin it is to make use of *Scripture* then of *Sophistry* to wicked and ungodly ends, and by how much more dangerous it is, for men to be misguided by their *consciences*, then by their *passions*, the one being but a fit of *frenzie*, which will soon over, and the other being a *settled* and a *sober madness* which is hardly cured. And in this respect a *popular State* is much worse amongst *Christians* then ever it was or could be among *Heathens*. And yet even amongst *Heathens*, it was by the wisest of them accounted the *worst* of all Governments, as *Thucydides* and *Aristotle* confess, though both of them were born and bred in a popular State, and were as able as any to judge of it.

And yet the Evils I have hitherto spoken of, are but such as *every popular State* is subject unto, even when it is orderly and regular (I mean as orderly and regular as a Popular State can be) and that is when the body of the People governs it self by *Lawes*, and Civil Magistrates of its own making; but there is a *kind* of *popular Government*, when a *part* of the *people* being got into Arms, Govern by the sword and military Officers of their own choosing, and this is a *Stratocracy*, or military kind of *Democracy*; which must needs be a much more terrible and insupportable yolk then the former; because besides its being subject to all the evils and

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inconveniences before spoken of, it is always able to do all the mischief it hath a mind to do, without opposition in the doing of it, and without fear of being punished for it. And this is indeed to *rule with a rod of iron, and break the people in pieces like a Potters vessel.*

And now there is but *one way more* of having *many Princes, or more Sovereigns* than *one* in the same kingdom; and that is as dangerous and as inconsistent with the Publick peace, as any of the former: namely, the setting up of *two Scepters, two Law-givers, or two Supream Judicatories, the one Civil, and the other Ecclesiastical* in one and the same State; which *two Supream Judicatories* must needs have *two Supream Judges* without subordination of the one to the other, and without Appeal unto the one from the other; And consequently when they differ (as they must needs do often) about the rights and extent of their *several Jurisdictions*, the People will not know which of them to obey, being threatned by the *material sword*, if they obey the one, and with the *spiritual sword* if they obey the other; so that *such a State* must needs be *divided within and against it self*; and then *Christ himself* will tell you it *cannot stand*.

So that it must needs be ill for the people in what sense soever they have *many Princes*; whether it be by *Cantoning* the Countrey into parts, or by sharing the *Sovereignty* of the whole, either amongst

amongst many, as in *Aristocracy*, or amongst all, as in a *Democracy*, or amongst the *Sword-men* onely, as in a *Stratocracy*; or lastly by dividing the *soul* of the State from the *Body*, the *Church* from the *Commonwealth*, and by making two Sovereigns, one in causes *Civil*, and the other in causes *Ecclesiastical* over the same Subjects, whether the *Conclave*, or the *Consistory* be the Cause of it. In all which cases I say it is a *Judgement* of God upon a Nation to have more Princes then one, as I hope I have made it appear both from the *causes* and *effects* of it.

But notwithstanding all the Evidence can be given of this truth, either from Scripture or Reason, from the Cause, or the Effects of it, we would not believe it till we felt it. And therefore in the third place it hath pleased God, because we were like *beasts without understanding*, to teach us, as he doth Beasts, by our senses, and to visit us of late, as much or perhaps more then ever he did any nation with this very Judgement, I mean *plunality* of Princes in all its kind and degrees, and with almost all the effects of it.

For after we had said in our hearts *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*; I mean, as soon as we had rejected that EXCELLENT PRINCE, who only had right by all Lawes Humane and Divine to reign over us, presently many of our fellow-subjects took upon them to be our Princes, and to govern us arbitrarily at their own pleasure, in order to their own avariti-

ous and ambitious ends. And that *first* in an *Aristocratical* way, as a *Senate* or *Council* of State, wherein nothing could be done without consent of some of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*. But it was not long (after *Royalty* was gone,) but *Nobility* followed, and was excluded also. And *then* came in *Democracy* or the Government of the Common People by their own Representatives onely; which encreased the number of our Princes, and the vileness of our slavery by the meanness of our Masters. But these their own *Mercenaries* did quickly deprive of the power they had Usurped and Abused; And then came in *Stratocracy* or the Government by the Sword, and thereby we had as many Princes as there were *Bassaws* or *Major Generals*, who perhaps, if they had out-liv'd their great *Sultan*, they would have *Conquerr'd* the Kingdome, and erected their several Provinces into so many several Principalities. But by this means the very *name* of Liberty and property, which were before pretended, were quite taken away. Onely there was *liberty* enough and too much, indeed a Lawless, boundless *licence* in matter of *Religion*; all wayes of worshipping God being allowed; but the true one; and all admitted to the Sacred Function, but such as were *lawfully* called unto it; In the mean time every *Sect*, had its *head*, and every one that was *head* of a *Sect* was *Prince* of a *Party*; so that we have *seen* what it is to have many Princes, nay we have *felt* it to be a  
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fore Judgement by the terrible effects of it ; which did spread themselves over the face , and through the Veins , and into the Bowels of the three Kingdomes ; at once embracing , involving , and confounding all places , all persons , and all conditions , publick and private , high and low , sacred and prophane ; For from the King in his Throne , to the Beggar in the dust , no thing , place , or person almost hath been without *feeling* some or other the terrible effects of *this Judgement*. How many have lost their Limbs , their Liberty , their Country , their estates , their friends , and have been reduced to extream poverty , both at home and abroad ? How many noble and Ancient *Families* have been ruin'd ? How many goodly buildings and *Churches* ( the glorious evidences and Monuments of our Ancestors Piety and charity ) have been prophaned and defaced ? How many poor innocent persons of both sexes , all ages ; and all conditions , have been either murther'd or banish'd , or , imprison'd or oppress'd with extortion of all kinds , and of all Degrees without possibility of help , or hope of remedy ? Lastly , how many poor *souls* , for which *Christ dyed* , have been betrayed into *Rebellion* and *Sacriledge* , Schism and Heresie , Uncharitableness and Cruelty , by the horrible *abuse* of *Preaching* , *Praying* , *Fasting* , *Vowing* , and all other the sacred ordinances of God ?

And now if our poor Country, (when she felt these painfull strugglings and Convulsions within her bowels) should have ask'd, as Rebecca did (when she felt Esau and Jacob striving within her womb) *If it be so, why am I thus?* There could no other reason be given her for it, but *this* in my Text, *It was for her Transgression*, it was for the *Transgression* of the Land, it was for our National sins of Atheism, of Profaneness, of Sacrilege, of Hypocrisy, of Idleness, of Gluttony, of Drunkenness, of uncleanness, of Pride, of Heresie, together with our *prevarication* against God, or our treacherous dealing with God, in pretending to serve him best, when we dishonour'd him most; nay in pretending to serve him, when we intended to serve our selves of him, by making use of his Name, his Word, and his Ordinances, in order to the palliating, promoting, and effecting our own ungedly and unrighteous designs. These I say were our National sins, and by these or some of these we have *all of us* contributed to the provocation of *this* Judgement. So that they were not the sins of the Court only, nor of the City only, nor of the Countrey only, nor of any one particular order of men (whether Clergy or Laity) and much less of any one particular man or party of men, that we can say were singly and abstractedly the cause of our Calamities; no it was too great, too universal, to be the



the effect of *little or few* Provocations; they were therefore the *sin* of the *whole Nation*, the *sins* of *All* and *every One* of us, which rising up as a *Cloud* from us, fell down again in a *showre* of Judgements upon us; so that there is not one of us, to whom it may not truly be said, *Perditio mea ex te*, *Thou* hast *deserved* whatsoever *thou* hast *suffer'd*: For if the *best* of us had been as good as we *might*, and *ought* to have been, it would not have been in the power of the *worst* of us, to have made us so miserable as we were. Indeed if *all* of us had not rebelled against God, *none* of us would have *Rebell'd* against the *King*; at least their Rebellion would not have prospered as it did; and consequently the Sovereignty would never have been shared amongst so many, as it was. Which as at first it was the effect of our *sins*, so it hath been ever since the *cause* of our *Miseries*. And as the Consideration of the *former*, namely, that our having of many Princes was an effect of the sins of us all, or of our National sins, will make us instead of judging, condemning, upbraiding, and hating *one another*, to judge, condemn and abhorre *our selves*, and consequently to *justify* God in his Judgements upon us all; so the consideration of the *later*, namely, that the having of many Princes hath been the *cause* of all our late many and great *miseries*, will *first* *Convince* us of our former *folly*, in *believing*, so *as-*  
sily

*sily* as we did, those, that upon false pretences of bettering our condition by a *change*, did perswade us (as the *Serpent* did *Eve*) out of the *Paradise* we were in, because something or other, which perhaps we had a mind to, was wanting to us. *Secondly*, it will arm us against the *like Temptation* for the future with a resolution never to meddle any more with those that are given to change. And *Lastly*, it will make us the more *thankfully sensible* of Gods infinite *goodness* and *mercy*, in *Delivering* us from the *slavery* we were in under the *Tyranny* of many (which is, as we have found it to be, the greatest of National Judgements,) and *Restoring* us again to our former freedom and happiness under one *Lawful Hereditary Sovereign Prince*, which is (and I hope we shall find to be so) the greatest of National blessings.

**A**Nd this was my *second Conclusion*, deduced from these words in my Text. But by a *man of understanding and knowledge the State thereof shall be prolonged*: where (as I told you before) by a *man of understanding and knowledge* as there must needs be meant one *single Person* in opposition to those *Many* which the former Clause of My Text speaks of; so by *That one single Person* must needs be meant such an one as is a *Prince, a Sovereign Prince*, because the *man* here spoken of is  
 oppo-

opposed not to *many simply* and *indefinitely*, but to *many Princes*.

And indeed *no private* person, though a man of never so much understanding, and knowledge is able to prolong a State, because that is a work which requires not onely *Wisdom* and *Prudence* to conduct it, but *Sovereign Power* and authority to Perform it.

And yet I will not deny, but that it may be sometimes in the power even of a *private man* to do much towards the recovery, and *preservation*, and consequently the *prolonging* of a State; as we read *Epaminondas* the *Thebane* did, when being but a *Private* man, he rescued his Country from the bondage of the *Lacedemonians*: The like did *Thrasibulus* a *private* man also, when he delivered his Country of *Athens* from the *Thirty Tyrants*: And so did *Camillus*, who was not onely a *Private* but a *Banished* man, when he recovered *Rome* from the *Gauls*.

But what need we Instances our of *Foreign Antiquity*? when we have a *Modern* example of our own (to the honour of our Nation be it spoken) which equals, and exceeds all I have named, or can name, in deserving from his Prince and from his Country, by his *Courage* in attempting, his *Prudence* in conducting, and his *Felicity* in effecting, that generous, glorious and Heroicall design, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from  
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slavery and infamy, by restoring the King to His People, and the People to their King; and withall, hath purchased unto himself Honour without Envy, Greatness with Safety, and (which is the best reward of virtue in this world) a perpetual satisfaction and complacency in himself, for having so nobly performed his duty. And this was indeed to be a *man of understanding*: Whereas others, who being *private* men, would needs be Princes; though they thought themselves men of *understanding*, have proved themselves *fools*; their heads being lifted up indeed, but so as they little thought they would be, and themselves, after they had blazed and blustered for a while, going out like a snuff, and have left nothing but a stink behind them.

But to return to what we have in hand; though it be true (as I have said before) that *any private* man may do something (at least by his *prayer*) and some private men may do much towards the preserving and prolonging of a State, if they be men of *understanding* and knowledge, that is, if they understand and know how to serve their Country, by serving of their Prince, either in Peace by their Counsels, or in War by their Courages; yet it is the *Prince himself*, who understanding and knowing how to serve himself of several mens abilities in their several professions, doth indeed preserve and prolong the State of his Country. And  
such

such a Prince, say I, is the greatest blessing of God upon a Nation: because the state or flourishing condition of a Nation, saith Solomon, is preserved and prolonged by Him.

So that according to the judgement of Solomon, (that is) according to the judgement of the wisest Statesman that ever was, or will be in the world, In order to the prolonging of a State, there must,

1. Be one Sovereign Prince.

2. That Sovereign Prince must be a man of understanding and knowledge.

And then 3<sup>ly</sup> He must so make use of that understanding and knowledge, as that his own and his peoples happiness may be procured, and preserved, and prolonged by him.

And first, in order to the procuring and prolonging the happiness of a Nation, it must have one Sovereign Prince (that is) the Government of it must be Monarchical: And of this there needs little more to be said for the proof of it, then what hath been said already for proof of my former conclusion, and what we our selves have felt already by the late tryal we have made of all other formes of Government; together with the uneasiness we found under them, and the miseries we have drawn upon our selves by them; from whence we may undoubtedly conclude, that at least, for us of this Nation, there is no other form of Government but Monarchy, under which we ever were, or ever can be happy.

Whe.

Whether *all other forms* of Government be Always, and Absolutely Unlawful, I will not take upon me to determine; *Stent aut cadant Domino suo*, Let them stand or fall to their own master: But as Christ (when he was ask'd, whether it were lawful for a man to put away his wife) answer'd, *A principio non fuit sic*; so may I say of *all other forms* of Government except Monarchy, *A Principio non fuit sic*, from the *beginning* there was no such Government: For as God made *man* upright at first, because he made him after his own Image; so he made the Government of *mankind* upright at first also, because he made it after the Image of *his own Government*; which surely is *Monarchical*. And no doubt it was Gods *intention*, it should *always* continue to *be so*; because, as we find *no example* of any other Government of his *approving*, so we finde *no rule* of direction for any other Government; nor *no precept* of subjection to any other Government, of his prescribing: *Those* we are commanded to submit to by Gods word, being either, *οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὡς ὑπερ- τχοῦντες*, Kings as *Supream*; or *οἱ πεμπόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων*, such as are sent and set over us by Kings, as is evident from the whole Book of God in general, and from 1 Pet. 2. v. 13, 14. in particular.

And indeed till the world was above 3000. years old, there was *no other Government* in it but *Monarchy only*. For in Homers time all Greece had *Kings*, and they were the *Gracians* from whom the

of *Ἀριστοι* and the of *Πολλοι*, *Aristocracy* and *Democracy* had their beginning. For the *Greeks* being men of subtle wits and unquiet spirits, finding *Monarchy* to be a curb to their Ambition, they devised such forms of Government, wherein the *Sovereignty* being not Confined unto *one*, but Shar'd amongst *many*, Every man might hope to have his turn and his part in it : From the *Grecians* by their Colonies were these *Heresies* and *Innovations* in Government derived to some few other Nations; but as they spread not farr, so they continued not long; for at the coming of *Christ* there was nothing but *Monarchy* in the World ; so that *Monarchy* as it was Instituted by God at the Creation, so it seems to be restored by *Christ* at the Redemption of Mankind, and to be recommended both by the *Father* and the *Son* as the best and *only* form of Government for all Nations. And indeed *nature* it self doth seem to recommend it, and that not onely because every *Species* of all *Creatures* whatsoever seems to have a subordination to *some one* of the *same kind* ; but likewise because amongst *men* also, those that have no other Rule but the *light* of *nature* to live by, I mean, those of *America*, and other lately discovered Nations, as there be *none* of them without *some* Government, so *none* of them have *any other* form of Government, but *Monarchy*.

Now as *Monarchy* is more *natural* and more according to *Divine Institution*, and consequently a better

form of government then *any other*; so of *Monarchies*, that which is by *Succession* is much *more natural* and much *more* according to *Divine Institution*, then *any other* kind of *Monarchy*. I mean, then that which either is by *Usurpation*, or by *Election*.

And first it is *better* then *Monarchy* by *Usurpation*; for as *no man can take to himself the honour or office of a Priest*; so much less can any man take to himself the *honour or office of a King*; but he must have it from *God himself*, either by *Gods own Immediate designation*, as *Moses and the Judges* had (for the *Judges were Kings*) and as *Saul and David* had; or by *Gods Ordinary way of Dispensation*, which was by *succession of Children unto their Fathers*: According unto which Method, as *Families* grew into *Nations*, so *Paternal government* grew into *Regal*, and consequently an *Usurper*, as he hath no *claim to Divine Institution*, so he hath no *title to Divine benediction or protection*. And besides, because what is *Gotten by the sword*, must be *Maintained by the sword*, an *Usurper must be a Tyrant*, whether he will, or no. Lastly, a *Monarchy by Usurpation* is *Res sine titulo*, a Possession without a Title; which seldome lasts Long, or ends Well, for *he that takes the sword shall perish by the sword*, saith our Saviour. Mat. 26. 52.

Again, as *Monarchy by Usurpation* is *Res sine titulo*, so *Monarchy by Election* is *titulus sine re*, a Title without the Thing; for *Elective Kings* are but *Conditional Kings*; and *Conditional Kings* are no Kings.



Kings. Besides, a *King* is to have the *Power of Life and Death*, which none, that have it not themselves, can give unto Him ; And therefore, how He that is *Elected* by those that have *not* the *power of Life and Death*, comes to have the *power of life and death*, and consequently how he comes to be a *King*, is, as I conceive, not easie to imagine. But supposing an *Elective King*, to be indeed a *King* ; yet considering first, the *Dangers and Inconveniences of Inter-regnum's or Cessations of Government* betwixt the *Death* of one *King* and the *Election* of another ; Secondly, the *Factionness and partiality* of the *Electors*, together with the *envie and emulation* of the *Competitors* ; Thirdly, the *necessity* of Him that is *chosen*, to gratifiethose that Chose him, with the *prejudice* of those that were against him ; And lastly, considering that every *Elective King* hath a *Particular Interest of his own* ; divided from *that* of the *Publick*, and consequently, that it is more then probable, that he will have more respect to the *interest* of his *Family*, wherein he is to be Succeeded by his Children, then to *that* of the *Kingdome*, wherein he may be Succeeded by a Stranger ; Considering *all these things*, I say, we may well conclude, that *as Monarchy is the best form of Government, so successive, bereditary Monarchy is the best form of Monarchy* ; because where there is an *undoubted right*, there is no *Need of Tyranny* to support it, as there is in an *Usurpation* ; and because, where the *Princes and the*

Publick Interest is the *same* (as it is in *Hereditary Monarchy*) there is no need of Defrauding the *one*, to Provide for the *other*, as there is in *Elective Kingdoms*.

But yet even of *Hereditary Monarchies* one may be more desirable then another, as a *Political* rather then a *Despotical*; for a *Despotical* Monarch governs his Subjects as a *Master* doth his *Servants*, *arbitrarily* according to his *own will* and pleasure, whether it be *Right* or *Wrong*; But a *Political* Monarch governs his Subjects as a *Father* doth his *Children*, by *Equal* and *Just Lawes*, made with their *own consent* to them, The *former* is the Government of the *Turk* and *Muscovite*, the *later* is, or ought to be the Government of *all Christian Kings*; I am sure it is of *Ours*, and therefore *such a kind* of Monarchy as *Ours*, is not onely the most *just* and *reasonable*, but the most *plausible* and *popular* Government of *all others*. Especially, if the *Supream Governour* be so *Qualified*, as he ought to be, and that is (saith *Solomon*) if he be a *man of understanding and knowledge*.

And first, he would have him to be a *Man*; for *Woe unto thee, O Land,* (saith the same *Wise-man*) *when thy King is a child*, *Ecclesiastes 10. 16.* But *blessed art thou, O Land,* (saith he in the very next words) *when thy King is the son of Nobles*; so that it seems *Solomon* would have his *Prince*, neither to be

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be a *Child*, nor an *Upstart*, or a Man *meanely* born; not a *Child*; because even *then* his Authority, though it may be Abused, is to be Obeyed; not an *Upstart* or a man of *mean birth*, because *such* a One being to govern *better* men than *himself*, he thinks there is no way to prevent their Contempt of him, but by making himself by his *Cruelty* to be *feared* by them; And hence it is that *Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum*, Mean persons, when they are mightily Exalted, become Cruel and Insolent, and Imperious in their Own Defence; whereas Those, that are *born great*, need not venture the being hated, for fear of not being Reverenced by their Subjects, who have alwayes an *inbred reverence* to the Royal Blood and Family (if they be not Debauch'd from it); even whilst the Prince is but a *Child*; And much more if he be a Man, and a Man before he is a King; A man at his full Growth of Mind as well as of Body, and of Body as well as of Mind; even just *such* an one, as we may imagine *Adam* to have been, when he was newly made Monarch of the *World*; But till a King be a Man, we know not what kind of Man he will be, either for his *Person* or for his *Parts*; whereas when we see him a Man, and *such* a Man as we would wish to be our King, though he had not been *born* to be so, we are very unworthy of him, if we be not very Thankful to God for him. We know, that the Comeliness and Gracefulness  
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of a *private* mans person, and much more of a *Princes*, doth exceedingly either excuse the defects, or set off the excellency of his parts, and wonderfully indearshim. And whatsoever he does or says unto his people; for, *Gratior est pulchro veniens de corpore virtus*; the same things said or done by a comely or uncomely, by a graceful or ungraceful person, have very different operations and effects in the minds of men. *Philip de Comines* tells us, that our *Edward the fourth* (who, as he saith, was the goodliest Gentleman that ever he saw) got twice possession of *London* and the *Crown*, by the favour of the people, whom the beauty and excellency of his shape had gain'd unto him: So that it is a great felicity in a *Soveraign* Prince, when it cannot be said of him, as it was of *Galba*, *Galba ingenium malè habitat*; but rather, that he hath *formam Principe dignam*, a shape worthy of a Prince; such an one as *Saul* had, then whom, (saith the Text) *there was not a goodlier person among all the children of Israel*; as well for the symmetry of his Limbs, as the tallness of his Stature; or such an one as *Absalom* was, in whom (besides his goodly Head of Hair) *from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head* (saith the Text) *there was no blemish*: And no doubt it was by this silent Rhetorick (I mean, the comeliness and gracefulness of his person) as well as by his courteous and fair language, that he *stole away the hearts of the people*, which though it ill became a *Subject*, yet

yet nothing can more become a Sovereign Prince, then to have it in his power to Captivate by his Looks and by his Words the hearts of his People at his pleasure, without being at any Charge at all for it.

But if besides *Comeliness* and *Gracefulness* of shape ; *Courtesie* , and *Affability* of Speech and behaviour , together with *Gravity* , and yet *Serenity*, and *Benignness* of Aspect, there be a *Vigorous* Manliness in his Mind, and a promise of *Long Life* in the *Healthfulness* of his Constitution , I know not what is to be wished for more, but that he may have *Mentem sanam in corpore sano*, that the Beauty of his Mind may be answerable to the beauty of his Body ; as it will be, if he be a *man of understanding and knowledge*, or such an one, as *understands* and knows how to make Himself and his People happy.

And *First* , he must be a *man of Understanding*, and *then* of *Knowledge* : because , if a man have not some Measure of *Understanding* , he is not capable of *Knowledge* ; as we see *Natural fools* and *Madmen* are not. Again, though a man have *understanding* to such a Degree , as to make him Capable of the *Knowledge* of many things that are well worth the *Knowing*, yet if he have not *judgement* and *discretion* to make use of that *Knowledge* , or if that *Knowledge* make him never a whit the *wiser*, it were as good for Himself , and the World too.

too, that he *knew nothing* : For, though a man have Read never so many Books, and Seen never so many Countries, and Search'd never so many Languages, and Gone through never so many Arts and Sciences; yet if he be not *naturally a man of judgement and understanding*, he may be a Fool for *all this*; nay he may be a much more *incurable Fool*, then he would be otherwise; because his knowing so much makes him think himself wise, when indeed he is not: and this is *such a Fool*, as Solomon saith, *Though you bray him in a Mortar, yet will not his foolishness depart from him; Prov. 27. 22.* which makes good our *English Proverb*, that *the greatest Clerks, are not alwayes the wisest men*; or as it is more sharply express'd in the *Scotch Dialect*, *an ounce of Mother wit is worth a pound of Clergy.*

Again, because there may be a *bad* as well as a *good use* made of a mans natural understanding and of his knowledge too; therefore if a man have not such an understanding, as to make a right use of his wit and of his knowledge, in order to his Own, and the Publick good, it were better for such a man and the world too, that he had no understanding nor knowledge at all; for *these* are the men, whose understanding and knowledge the Devil makes use of, as he doth of his own Serpentine subtilty for the disturbing, distracting, and confounding of States and Kingdomes.

domes. But the understanding my Text speaks of, *preserves* and *prolongs* States and Kingdomes. And therefore by a *man of understanding* in my Text, is meant one that may be truly so called; not in a Natural sense onely, but in a Moral and Theological sense also; One that hath good *Morals*; as well as good *Intellectuals*; one that is not Biased by his own passions, nor swayed by the flattery of others; one that can, and doth conform his will and *affections* unto his *reason*, and his *reason* it self to *Gods will* revealed in his word; as knowing, his *own reason* may deceive him, but *Gods word* rightly understood (which is *Gods Reason*) cannot.

To conclude, by a *man of understanding* in my Text, is meant one that hath an *understanding heart*, as well as an *understanding head*, *Vir cordatus*, as the old Latines called a wise man. And indeed generally through the whole Scripture, *wisdom* is ascribed to the heart, or seated in the heart; thereby implying, that *True wisdom* consisteth rather in *practice* then *speculation*, and in *doing* our Duty, rather then in *knowing* of it; so that a man may be a very wise man in the sense of the world (as all crafty men are) though never so false and wicked, and a very fool in the sense of the Scripture, which calls every good man a *wiseman*, and every wicked man a *fool*, according to that of DAVID, *The fool hath said in his heart there is no God*,

Psalm 14. and according to that of Job, To fear the Lord, That is wisdom, and to depart from Evil That is understanding. Job 2<sup>d</sup>. 18. And that indeed the understanding a Sovereign Prince ought to have in order to the making himself and his people happy; but not exclusively to a good natural understanding, for he must have that too; Because otherwise, He that is to see with other mens Eyes, and to hear with other mens Ears, and to execute his Commands by other mens hands (as Princes do,) may easily, and will frequently be impos'd upon, unless he be able to Discern clearly, and to Judge rightly of Men, as well as Things, and of their Moralls, as well as their Intellectuals: for an *understanding Prince* will take heed how he trusts or employs a vicious or an impious person in any Charge of importance; because where he sees neither Piety nor Honesty, he can never be secure of *such a mans fidelity* any longer, then such a mans *own interest* and the Princes is the same.

Besides, a Prince that hath not a sound and solid Judgement of his own, though he have never so wise a Counsel, yet he can never be sure that he is well advised by them. Because the *wisest and best men* are but *men*, that is, such as may have an Eye to themselves, and their own particular interest, more then to the Publick: but the Kings, and the Publick interest being always the same, if



if he be a man of understanding, he will easily discern, whether the Council, that is given him, be in order to the Publick interest, or no; and accordingly, either admit it, or reject it. And therefore the Question, "Whether it be better for the People to have a weak King and a wise Counsel, or a wise King and a weak Counsel, is very well decided by Machiavel, That of the Two, it is much better to have a wise King, and a weak Counsel; Though indeed, it be not to be imagined, but that a wise King will always have a wise Counsel: for if he do not find them so, he will quickly make them so. But that other Question, "Whether a Prince ought to be *Virtuous* and *Religious* indeed, or in appearance only, is very ill decided, by the same Machiavel: as if it were necessary indeed for a Prince to appear virtuous and religious, but not necessary for him to be so. Whereas no doubt if it be necessary for him to appear Virtuous and Religious, it must needs be much more necessary for him to be virtuous and Religious: For whatsoever advantages he may have upon the People by seeming so, the same and more hee may have by being so, besides the blessing of God upon him and his People for his sake: but this Machiavel perhaps did either not think of, or not care for.

Besides, I cannot see how a Prince can be said to be a man of understanding, if he do not master his

his *passions* by his *reason*, and if he do so he must needs be vertuous in Deed, and not in Appearance onely; Neither do I see, how a Prince, especially a Christian Prince, that believes there is a Providence here, and a Judgement hereafter, can be a *man of understanding*, if he do not seek the Protection, and assistance of the One, and Endeavour to Secure himself from the danger of the Other; and if he do so, he must of necessity be Religious in Deed, and not (as *Machiavel* would have him) onely seem to be so.

But it is *Solomons*, not *Machiavel's* PRINCE we speak of; and therefore he must be a *man of understanding*, not in *Machiavels* sense (which is to be a man of Falshood and Dissimulation) but in *Solomon's* sense, which is to be a man of Virtue and Religion. And then He will be wise for the Present, and wise for the Future, wise for Himself, and wise for his People also.

Especially if he be a man not of *understanding* only, but of *knowledge* also; And indeed if he be a man of Understanding, he will be a man of Knowledge, for he will Understand that his Understanding it self must be perfected by Knowledge. For though the Understanding be Naturally, Morally, and Religiously never so well disposed; yet seeing of it self it is but a meer Capacity, it can inform the Soul of no more, then what it self is inform'd of by the senses, because

because *Nil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu*; this kind of knowledge is neither *Innate*, nor *infus'd*, but *acquir'd*: so that as a man must have a *good understanding* to make him capable of knowledge, and to enable him to make a *good use* of that knowledge; so he must have knowledge likewise, to furnish, improve and perfect his understanding. And therefore a SOVERAIGNE PRINCE, especially a great Monarch, who hath many millions of bodies, and souls too, under his conduct; as he ought to have a clear, a sound, a solid and a *capacious understanding*; so ought that capacity to be filled, and beautified and adorned with the best, the choicest, the most necessary and most excellent notions, maxims and habits, that humane nature is capable of, or moral industry can attain unto. For seeing no humane capacity is comprehensive enough to excel in *all things*; therefore the most Excellent Persons will apply themselves to the knowledge of the most excellent things, that is, such as best become them, and such as most concern them. I remember I have read that Philip of Macedon finding his Son Alexander playing skilfully upon the Lute, *Art thou not afraid my Son* (said he) *to be so skilful a Musician?* Thereby implying, that to lose their precious time in learning *little and low arts* doth not become Princes.

The truth is, that all knowledge worthy of a Prince is reducible to these two heads, the Art and Science—

Science of governing himself, and the Art and Science of Governing his people.

In order to the governing of himself, he is to consider himself either as he is a man, and as he stands in relation to God only; or as he is a Prince, and stands in relation to God and men also.

In the First of these considerations, he is to divest himself of all his Majesty, and to look upon himself as made of the same Clay, and of the same brittle Constitution that others are; that he came into the world as other men did, and must go out of the world as other men do; for though Princes are called GODS, yet they shall dye like men, saith one that was a Prince himself, Psal. 82. 7. and though they be accountable to no Tribunal here, yet they are to be Judged hereafter, and Judged by One, who is no respecter of persons, and from whom no secrets can be hid. And for this reason a Prince is to consider how careful he is to be of Governing himself, not according to that Licence, which his Exemption from the penalty of humane Laws may prompt him to, but according to that strickness which the severity of the Divine justice doth require of him. "For those that can be punished by none but God, shall be sure to be most severely punished by God, if because they can be punished by none but him, they presume the more to sin against him."

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And therefore the best way for a Sovereigne Prince, who is *not* subject to the Judgement of Men, to secure himself from the Judgement of God, is to Judge himself, and to exercise his Kingly authority, First *within* and upon himself.

First, by curbing, Restraining, and Regulating the inordinateness and immoderateness of his own *passions*.

Secondly, by keeping a strict Guard and Watch over his own Senses, that his Eyes may not look after Vanity, nor his Ears hearken unto Flattery.

And Thirdly, by carefully fortifying himself against all Temptations, especially such, as are most agreeable unto him, and therefore most likely to Prevail with him. Alwayes remembring, that *Fortior est qui se, quam qui fortissimus vincit Mænia*, that Conquest is the glory of Princes, and that no Conquest is so glorious as that over a mans own Self; "*For he that hath once mastered himself, will afterwards find nothing too hard for him.*"

But this Consideration is Common to Princes with other men,

And therefore, Secondly, he is to consider himself as he is a Prince, and as he stands in relation to his People and to God too; I mean, as he is Gods Representative unto the People, and to Govern the People in Gods stead. Now as in the former Consideration he could not be too humble, so

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in *this* Consideration, he cannot be too Majesticall, nor too careful of keeping up the Dignity of his Quality, nor in exacting *that* Reverence which is due to Gods Vicegerent from the Greatest as well as from the meanest of his Subjects; For *tanti eris alibi, quanti tibi fueris*, is a Truth, which all men in authority, especially *Sovereign Princes*, ought to consider, and to behave themselves accordingly; doing nothing *unworthy* of their Greatness, or that may lessen them in the Eyes of their People. For there be many things that are not onely excusable, but commendable in private men that are not so in *Princes*. And even of things that are lawfull in themselves, all are not expedient for all persons of all Conditions. And here the Rule is, "That such things that are most agreeable to our Inclination, are to give place to such things as best become our Condition, especially when our condition is such as that many thousands besides our selves are concern'd in it. It is a notable saying that of NEHEMIAH, *Should such a man as I live?* Nehem. 6. 11. And I wish that all men in Authority, especially *Sovereign Princes*, would have that Reverence unto themselves and to their quality, as when any suggestion from within, or temptation from without, prompts them to the doing of any thing *unworthy* of them, they would say unto themselves as NEHEMIAH did  
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Shall such a man as I, that am the *Representative of God*, and therefore ought to be like God in Greatness, in Goodness, in Justice, in Mercy, in rewarding those that do well, and in punishing those that do evil, shall I do any thing that is either mean, or sinful, or unjust, or cruel, or that may any way dishonour the Person I represent? Again, Shall such a Man as I, that am appointed by God to govern others, shew my self so weak, as not to be able to govern my self, and mine own Passions? *Lastly*, Shall such a Man as I, that am to be an example to all other, carry my self so that others by my example may be the worse Subjects unto God, and consequently the worse Subjects unto my self also? God forbid; For seeing how apt the People are to follow the *example* of their Prince, especially in that which is evil; Princes ought, for their Peoples sake as well as for their own, to be very careful how they behave themselves, especially in publick, where all mens eyes are upon them. But because the People, though they are apt enough to follow the ill, yet they are not so apt to follow the good example of their Princes; it is not enough for a Prince to be a *good Man*, and consequently to give a good example; but he must be a *good Prince*: that is, such a one as knows how to make his Subjects such as they should be, by the severity of his Lawes, if they will not be perswaded to be so by his example. *Eli* we know was a good Man, and so was our HENRY the sixth, but neither of them was a

good Prince, and therefore they were both of them unhappy in themselves, in their Families, and in their Subjects. So that a Prince is not onely to go before his People by way of example, but he is to make them follow him, by countenancing, encouraging, employing, and rewarding those that are vertuous, pious, industrious, and men able and willing to do God and Him service either in the Church or State; as likewise to discountenance, discourage, cashier, and punish such as are vicious, and impious, especially Atheistical and profane persons. who are the Plague-sores of Courts and States, and such as ought to be abhorr'd by all men, especially by Princes; who being Gods *Vice-gerents*, are above all other things to take care of Gods Honour and Worship, and consequently not to suffer those that openly either deny him or affront him, to live under their Protection, and much less to receive any countenance or favour at all from them.

By this means, one good Prince will do more good towards a publick Reformation both in Church and State, then never so many or never so good Preachers (without such a Prince) will do, or can do. As appears by the many Reformations that were made in the Kingdom and Church of *Judah*, whereas none at all were made in the Kingdome and Church of *Israel*; the reason whereof was, not because there were not as good Preachers, and as great Prophets, but because there were not as good Kings in *Israel* as there were in *Judah*: For *Israel* had its *Elijahs* and *Elisha's*.



*Elisha's*, the greatest of Prophets; but it had not its *HEZEKIAH's* and *JOSIAH's*, the most pious of Kings; and they are pious and good Kings that must make a pious and good People, by providing such subordinate Governours under themselves both in Church and State, I mean such *Magistrates* and *Judges* for the one, and such *BISHOPS* and *Ministers* for the other, as may give a good account of the great Trust which by God and the King is committed to their care.

And now when a Sovereign Prince knows how to govern himself both in relation to God and to his People, he will the better know how to govern his People in relation to Himself, and in order to His own and their Happiness.

And this indeed is the knowledge which is Proper and Peculiar to Princes as they are Princes. *Excudant alii spirantia mollius aera, &c.* Let others excel in other Arts; but in *Arte bene imperandi*, in the Art of governing well, (which is *Ars 'Aexilexloria*, the Mistress of all Arts,) Princes ought to excel all men.

*Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento;  
Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbos:  
Hæ tibi erunt Artes.*

But no man can excel in any Art that doth not study it, and with intension of mind apply himself to it, by making use of those Means that are Necessary for the acquiring of it, and for the making of himself perfect in it. I remember *Xenophon* in his

*Eusebia* observing that all kind of *Cattel* are ordinarily and easily govern'd by those that have the charge of them, without Rebelling against them, or Revolting from them; and yet that *Societies* of men, who are *reasonable* Creatures (and for that Reason one would think much more Governable) are rarely and difficultly kept in order by their Princes. seems very much to wonder at it: But then considering likewise, that *Cyrus* (of whom he writ) did govern infinite multitudes of men of several Nations, Languages, and Manners, as easily and quietly as ever any *Herd* of *Cattel* was govern'd by their Herdsman, he concludes it is neither *impossible* nor very *difficult* to do as he did, if *Princes* would study the *Art of Governing*, and apply themselves to it, and were as well *qualified* for it as He was.

So that in order to Governing well, a Prince must *First* be qualified for it, and *Secondly* he must mind it, and make it his business by applying himself to it.

To *Qualifie* him for it, many things are necessary, especially these two: *First*, the *knowledge* of *Humane Nature* in *General*, how it works, and how it is wrought upon; and *Secondly*, the *knowledge* of the *particular Genius* and *Disposition* of the *People* he is to govern.

In order to the former, it is a great felicity when a *Prince*, before he begins to govern at home, hath *seen* much of the *World* *abroad*, especially those parts of the *World* with which he is likely to have most to do

do; when he hath learn'd their Language, observ'd their Manners, by conversing with them in their Camps, and in their Courts, and hath considered their Interests, both as they relate to his own, and to other Nations. This is a great advantage, I say, in order to his future Government, when a Prince happens to have such an *Education*. And hence it is that both *Homer* and *Virgil* (the one in his *Ulysses*, and the other in his *Aeneas*;) meaning to give us the pattern or *Idea* of a perfect Prince, they make them both to be long abroad amongst foreign Nations, before they settle at home; and so was our HENRY the seventh, one of our ablest Princes.

Neither is it amiss for a Prince, in order to the felicity of his future Government, to be for a time under a Cloud, and to be Hardned both in his Body and his Mind by suffering Affliction, and thereby to know his Friends from his Enemies, both at home and abroad; an important advantage, which no Prince that never was in Adversity, can have, or make use of. Besides, Princes that are bred up in that School of Affliction, are commonly much more prudent, and patient, and wary, and thrifty, and more inclinable to Piety, to Charity, to Clemency, to Modesty, and Moderation in time of Prosperity, and to all other Moral and Religious Vertues, then they would be otherwise. And therefore we see that God thought fit to breed up the man after his own heart in this School of Affliction; and perhaps it was his breeding in this School that made him to be so. However, it is evident,

dent, that even after he *was* King, God would not admit him to the *Exercise* of his Kingly Power, till he had spent some years under this *Discipline*; which is the very case of our *present* SOVERAIGN, as well as it was *Dauids*; and therefore I doubt not but God had the same Design in the breeding of them both; namely, to make them as *Glorious afterwards* by their *Actions*, as they had been *formerly* by their *Sufferings*: Neither do I doubt, but our *David* will do, as that *other David* tells us He did, *He will rule us prudently with all his power.* Psal. 78. 71.

But *Ars longa, vita brevis*; No one Princes *own* experience is sufficient to make him a Master of this Art: He must take in therefore the *experience* of *former Ages*, as well as of his *own*, and consequently he must spend some time in *Books* as well as in *business*; especially in *Histories*, whereby he shall be truly and impartially inform'd, how, and by what means some Princes in all Ages have made themselves *happy* and *glorious*, and others have made themselves *miserable* and *infamous*: And (considering that ordinarily the same Causes produce the same Effects) a wise Prince will *imitate* them in his *Actions*, to whom he desires to be most like in his *Fortune* and *Reputation*.

More especially he ought to acquaint himself with the *Histories* of his *own Nation*, that he may not be a stranger at home, but may know the particular temper and humour of his own People, and how he is to apply himself to them, to make himself honour'd, and obeyed, and beloved by them; carefully observing

ving which of his *Predecessors* were so, and which of them were not so, and what difference it was in their *Actions*, which produced that difference in their *Subjects Affections*, and in their own *Fortunes*.

But of all other *Books*, let him especially acquaint himself with the *Book of God*; which *David* (though no Prince had less time to spare from *Action*) made his daily study, nay he studied it *night and day*, as himself tells us: And good reason had he to do so; for by reading *this Book* he came to have more understanding than all his *Teachers*, as he tells us in one place; nay to have more *wisdom* than all the *Ancients*, when he was yet *Young*, as he tells us in another place; and to be *wiser* than all his *Enemies*, (not excepting *Achitophel* himself) as he tells us in a third place.

*Psa. 119. 95*

*Verf. 100*

*Verf. 98*

But though all that is written in *Gods Book* was written for our *Instruction*, yet because all of it was not written for the *Instruction of Kings*, as they are *Kings*, I wish *Kings* would find leisure to read so much of it at least, as was written of *Kings*, or by *Kings*; I mean the *Books of the Kings and Chronicles*, wherein they will find the *Best Direction* they can have in point of *Government* by way of *example*; together with the *Psalms of David*, and the *Proverbs of Solomon*, wherein they will find the *best Instruction* that can be given them in order to the same end, by way of *Precept and Counsel*. Or if this be still too much, that they would but read *once a week* the *Votum Davidis*, that *Vow of David*, (as I may so call it) I mean the *101. Psalm*, which though it be but a very short one,

yet, as I conceive, what *most* concerns a King, in order to the governing of Himself, his Family, and his Kingdomes, is either expressely or virtually contained in it.

And now when a *lawfull Hereditary* Sovereign Prince is *thus* Qualified, when he is of as Ancient and as Royal an Extraction as any Prince can be (as having all the Royal Bloud of *Europe* concentred in his Veins) when he is Comely in his Person, Healthfull and Vigorous in his Constitution, Graceful and Obliging in his Behaviour, of a Clear, sound and solid Understanding, Improved by an Extraordinary Education, Seasoned by Affliction, Confirmed and perfected by the Knowledge of Men, Books, and Business; when a Prince, I say, Is *thus* Qualified, and withal intends the Work he hath to do, by an actual application of his mind to it, and by a careful and constant prosecution of it, have we not reason to believe that such a Prince is mark'd out by the Divine Providence for some Great and Glorious Work, or other? And what can be a greater, or more glorious Work, then the settling and prolonging the State of a great *Empire*, after it hath been so much, and so long shaken and shatter'd, as *This* of ours hath been? And what more Evident Prognosticks can we have, that *this*, and none but *this* is the Man mark'd out by Heaven for the effecting of this great and glorious work, then those, which the Star at his Birth did point to, and which we our selves have since seen come to pass with our own Eyes?  
Especially

especially in the *two* most Memorable and most Remarkable Particulars ; I mean, First, His almost *miraculous* Preservation from many and great Dangers, especially in, and after the Battel of Worcester ; And Secondly, His as much if not *more* *miraculous* Restoration to his Crown, after his *second* Exile. The immediate hand of God indeed was visible in *them both* ; but (as I think) more signally and more remarkably in the *latter*, then in the *former* ; For many Princes perhaps have in as wonderful a manner escaped as great dangers ; but was it ever heard of in the World before, that a King, after having been so long excluded, and after the Government it self of his Kingdome had been so often changed, and after a new generation of men, that knew not *Joseph*, was sprung up in it ; Nay, that even when the most violent men against him, and most irreconcilable men to him were in possession of the Present Power, and were Enacting a final Abjuration of him, that *then*, even *then*, I say, so beyond and above the hopes of his Friends, so contrary to the desires and expectations of his Enemies, and so much to the amazement of the whole World, he should be so solemnly Invited, so magnificently Conducted, so triumphantly Received, and so joyfully and universally Acknowledged and Welcomed by all the Subjects ; And all this, without *blood*, without *blows*, without *bargain*, and without any *obligation* at all to any *Foreign* Prince or State for it ? And is not this as much as if God should have said to us in plain

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terms,

terms, *Behold the Man*; behold your King; Behold *Charles the Sufferer*, the Son of *Charles the Martyr*; the Grand-Child of *James the Wise* on the one side, and of *Henry the Great* on the other, and Heir to the several Excellencies of them both: *Behold the Man*, that must build up the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and make up the breaches in *Sion*, by Restoring and Settling whatsoever is yet wanting, either in regard of our Civil concernments, or our Spiritual: *Behold the Man*, that must Cure all our Jealousies, Banish all our Fears, Confirm all our Hopes, and Settle all our Distractions? Lastly, *Behold the Man*, that was Design'd by the Divine Providence, that hath been Preserved by the Divine Power, that is Qualified by the Divine Wisdom, as to ~~not~~ <sup>bring</sup> home again to us by the Divine <sup>Grace</sup> and Mercy, to settle and prolong the State of the three Kingdoms.

The State, I say; and that *First*, as it signifies the Government it self in the Essential and Legal Frame and Constitution of it; And *Secondly*, as it signifies the *Outward splendour of that Government*, arising from Peace, Plenty, Wealth, Strength, Security, Reputation, and whatsoever other ingredients there are, to make a Nation happy.

But first the State must be settled in the former of these Notions, as it signifies its Ancient Legal and Essential Constitution, before it can be settled in the latter; I mean, in its *outward splendour* and prosperity. All we have suffered under so Many Changes  
hitherto,



hitherto, hath been to no purpose, if we do not yet believe This Truth, if we are not yet grown so much *wiser* then we were, as to be convinc'd, That our *Old Government*, without any alteration at all in the *Fundamentals* of it, is *best for us*. And by the old Government, I mean the *thing*, as well as the *name* of *Monarchy*; and that in *all* its parts, as well as in *some* of them; You cannot have the Old Government in the *Civil* part of the State, if you have it not in the *Ecclesiastical*; neither can the King be *supreme* in *one*, unless he be *supreme* in *both*: For, where there are *two Supremes*, there can be no *Monarchy*. Now we know, that *Monarchy* is from *God*, and therefore we may know, that whatsoever is *Destructive* to *Monarchy*, or *Inconsistent* with *Monarchy*, is *not from God*, because Gods Ordinances cannot destroy or clash one against another. But Thanks be to *God* and the *King* for it, our Old Government is already *Restored* in *both* the parts of it; and yet it cannot properly be said to be *restored*, until it be *settled*, as it was before; and *settled as it was before*, I am afraid, it is *not yet*, I hope it *will be*; And when our Good Old Government *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* is once settled; *then*, but not *till then*, we may expect, that the Ancient Splendour and Honour, together with the Peace, Prosperity and security of the *English Nation* will be *Restored* and settled also. And as the *Restoring* and *Settling* of the latter, doth depend upon the *Restoring* and *Settling* of the former: so it is the *preserving* of the former

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mer, that must be the *prolonging* of the latter ; for as long as our *Old Government* is *Preserved*, so long and no longer will our *Peace* and *Prosperity* be *Prolonged* ; And therefore let all those that *Desire* and *Hope* for the *continuance* of the one, Endeavour and Pray for the *continuance* of the other,

In the mean time, Blessed be the great and good God, for all those great and good things which he hath *already done* for us. For which of us would have *Believed* a little above a year agoe, that ever he should have lived to have seen *this Day* ? Nay, who is there amongst us, that upon condition he might have *liv'd to see this Day*, would not have been content to have *Dy'd the next Day* after ? And now we do see it, do we not almost doubt, whether we see it indeed or no ? or do we not seem unto our selves to be like unto those that *Dream* ? May we not say of this so great, so sudden, so wonderfull a *Change* from what we *were* of late, to what we *are now*, as Saint Paul saith of the calling of the *Jews*, that it is like the *Resurrection* from the *Dead* ? Certainly, no Joy on Earth can exceed it, and I do verily believe, that the *Angels* in Heaven have their share in it. For if there be *so great Joy in Heaven* (as our *Saviour* tels us there is.) at the *Conversion* of any one *Sinner* ; how much *greater Joy* is it then, that is now there, at the *Conversion* of *three so great, so sinful Nations* ? Nay, if the *Saints* above know any thing of what is done here below, either by *Intuition* or

God, or Revelation from God, certainly *that great and blessed Saint, that happy and glorious Martyr, the Father of our present Sovereign*, was never so much Grieved with the Injuries and Indignities that were done unto *himself*, as he is now *well-pleased with this Dayes Solemnity*, and with the Due Rights and Honours which are now, with so universal a Chearfulness paid unto his Son. And therefore *with Angels and Archangels, and all the Host of Heaven*, let us Laud and Magnifie the glorious Name of God, and joyn with the Heavenly Quire in that Heavenly Anthem, which was first sung at the Birth of our Saviour, and may most seasonably be sung over again at the Inauguration of our King, *Glory be to God in the highest, on Earth Peace, Good will towards men*. And may *this Day be Annually and for ever repeated* with the same Joy and Exultation wherewith it is now Celebrated. Let the King have alwayes more and more cause to bless God for his People, and let the People have alwayes more and more cause to bless God for their King; and let the prolonging of *dayes* to the one, be the prolonging of *happinefs* to the other. And to this End, may he live to see his Subjects, as well as his Children, to the third and fourth Generation. And when he hath settled Gods House, and his own, the Church and the State, and seen them both flourish, and like to continue in a flourishing condition; when he is full of dayes and Honour, and when God hath no more work for

for him to do here ; then, and not till then, may he exchange the *Crown of cares* he is to put on now, for a *Crown of Glory* which he shall wear for ever ; And let all that Love God and the King, their Countrey, and themselves, say, *Amen.*

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FINIS.

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